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HUMAN ELEMENTS IN VITRUVIUS, DE ARCHITECTURA

(Concluded from page 92)

Health.—Propriety (*decor*) is one of the six principles²⁷ of architecture. It is defined as the perfect appearance of a building completed according to approved methods that spring out of its use and its position, or out of nature. Thus, healthful districts with springs of water ought to be chosen for sacred structures, especially those dedicated to Aesculapius and Salus, by whose healing powers many sick people seem to be cured. Since the sick often find relief when they are treated by the water of salubrious springs, the divinities presiding over such places will be held in higher esteem²⁸.

In summer the heat weakens every one, not only in pestilent places, but also in healthful places. Winter is sometimes a healthy period of the year even in places generally acknowledged to be unhealthful. Persons that come from cold climates to hot waste away, but those who go from hot countries to cold do not suffer by the change, but are even benefited²⁹. A great variation in temperature in some places is harmful³⁰.

Vitruvius believes that old-time methods used for the selection of sites for cities should be revived. The men of times past were accustomed to make a sacrifice of cattle found on a site proposed for a town or a camp. It was determined by examination whether the victim's liver was in healthy condition. If the liver was livid or diseased, they concluded that the condition was caused by food and water; therefore, since the place was not favorable to cattle, it was, they thought, not suitable to men. In Crete, there was pasturage on each side of the river Pothereus, which separates the cities of Gnosus and Gortyna. The cattle grazing on the Gortyna side had no perceptible spleen; physicians, who made investigations, discovered that there an herb which the cattle ate made the spleen small. Therefore, this herb is gathered and used as a medicine for those who are suffering from splenic disorders. The Cretans call this *asplenon*³¹.

Vitruvius declares that the larch (*larix*) contains a liquid resin (*resina*), of the color of Attic honey, which aids those who are suffering from consumption (*phthisis*)³².

Open spaces between colonnades should be decorated with green things, since walking in the open air (*hypæthis locis*) is very healthful. The refined and rarefied air which comes from green objects gives a clear-cut image and so takes away thick humors from the eyes and leaves the sight clear and the image distinct. Besides this, the body grows warm from the exercise of

walking, and the air, by sucking humors from the body, lessens their overabundance and dissipates them³³.

Differences in climate have effect on human beings. Where the sun gives forth a moderate heat, men's bodies are kept temperate; where the sun comes nearer, it burns out the moisture. In very cold regions the moisture is not drawn out by the heat; thus the damp air fills the body with moisture, thereby causing the body to become larger and the voice deeper. This also explains why the races of the North have huge bodies, fair complexion, reddish, straight hair, bluish-gray eyes, and much blood. Those who live directly under the sun's rays have shorter frames, swarthy color, curly hair, black eyes, and thin blood³⁴.

Parts of the body are, for various reasons, mentioned in connection with certain phases of architecture. The number of steps leading up to a temple should always be an odd number; in that case, if one begins the ascent with the right foot, that foot will also be the first to touch the top step. The steps should not be so high as to offer difficulty in mounting.

To build the floor³⁵ of a dining-room one should begin by excavating about two feet below the level and by partially filling in the excavated space with stones, so that there shall be provision for drainage. Charcoal is to be placed upon this material, and well tramped down, and a mortar of gravel, lime, and ashes, six inches thick, should be placed above this, to form a smooth surface. If a dining-room (*triclinium*) has such a floor, the slaves at banquets, even if they are barefooted, will not catch cold from the liquids poured or spat³⁶ upon the floor, because the liquids dry up as soon as they touch the floor³⁷.

•**Water.**—Book 8 is devoted to a discussion of water, its varieties and properties, and the approved methods of conducting it by aqueducts and of storing it in cisterns.

Without moisture, says Vitruvius, living beings would be bloodless and would wither away. Since physicists, philosophers, and priests are agreed that all things depend on water, Vitruvius states that he will have something to say about water (Book 8, Introduction, 1, 3, 4). Est enim maxime necessaria et ad vitam et ad delectationes et ad usum cotidianum.

Although the Greeks and the Romans did not have the modern laboratory equipment with which to analyze water, they had some tests which aided them in determining what was, to them, pure water. If water flows in the open, before any attempt is made to conduct it, one should inspect the condition of the people who live near the springs to see if their bodies are strong, if they have a good color, sound legs, and clear eyes. If they have, the spring can safely be approved

²⁷1.2.1.
²⁸1.4.1-2.
²⁹2.9.17.

³⁰1.2.5-7.
³¹1.4.9-10; Pliny 27.34.

³²1.4.4.

³³5.9.5.

³⁴Juvenal 11.173.

³⁵6.1.3-4.

³⁷7.4.5.

³⁶7.4.5; Pliny 36.60-64.

for drinking purposes. If one is dealing with water from a newly dug well, he should place a sample in a Corinthian vase or in any other vessel made of good bronze; then, if the water does not cause spots to appear on the vessel, the water may be considered good to drink. Again, one may boil some of the water in a bronze dish and let it stand. After this sample has been poured out, the water will be considered safe to drink if no sand or mud remains in the bottom of the dish. If the vegetables covered with water cook quickly, it is a proof that the water is salubrious. Furthermore, if the water in a spring is limpid and very clear, and if one finds no moss or rushes³⁸ where it enters or discharges from the spring, and there is no appearance of contamination, but the water appears clear, the chances are that the water is light and extremely wholesome³⁹.

In the section of Book VIII devoted to aqueducts and cisterns, Vitruvius remarks that water is much more wholesome which is conducted through clay than that which is conducted through lead pipes. Lead pipes seem to be harmful, because white lead (*cerussa*)⁴⁰ is obtained from lead pipes. An example of the action of lead on the human body can be seen in the case of plumbers, for they are pale. When lead is heated in the process of casting (*fundendo*), its fumes, settling upon the body day after day, take away some of the vigor from the flesh. Therefore, under no consideration should water be conducted through lead pipes if we wish to have it wholesome⁴¹. The taste of water from clay pipes is better. Hence we drink from earthenware, although the table may be decorated with silver plate⁴².

The location of towns depends on the water-supply as well as on the general topography of the adjacent country. Great care must be taken when fortified towns (*oppida*) are to be situated near swamps. The site is well taken if the swamp itself is higher than sea-level. On such a site ditches can be dug to conduct the water to the shore, and the salt-water, pushing back into the marshes, prevents the breeding of creatures in the swamps. Examples of such marshes are the Gallic marshes about Altinum, Ravenna, and Aquileia, which have remarkable healthfulness. On the other hand, marshes which have no outlets by means of rivers or ditches—e. g. the Pomptine Marshes⁴³—become putrid by stagnation and give forth heavy moisture and vapors. Here Vitruvius tells a story concerning an old town Salpia⁴⁴, in Apulia, which Diomedes founded when he was returning from Troy (some, however, say that the town was founded by the Rhodian Elpias). Since there was sickness in the town year after year, the people publicly petitioned M. Hostilius to select another site for the city. After some careful investigation, he asked permission of the Senate and the Roman people to move the town to a place near by on the sea. The city was moved to a spot about four miles away, and the citizens made an open-

ing from the lake to drain the water into the sea. Thereafter the citizens had a healthful site⁴⁵.

This selection of a healthful site is the first essential. The location should be high, not cloudy, not frosty, with temperate climate, and with no swamps in the vicinity. When the morning breezes blow toward the town at sunrise and bring with them mist and the poisonous breaths of the creatures of the swamps, a pestilent condition is likely to arise as these tainted clouds strike the bodies of the inhabitants. Likewise, if the towns on the coast face the South or the West, they will not be healthful, because during the summer the noon-day sky grows warm as the sun rises and it is hot at mid-day. Again, a town facing the West is warm at sunrise, becomes warmer at mid-day, and is hot at evening. Changes in temperature from hot to cold weaken those who live under such conditions⁴⁶.

A curious method is outlined for determining underground sources of water where there are no evidences of water on the surface of the earth. In those places where water-supply is sought, one should lie prone (*in dentes*) on the ground before sunrise, and should survey the ground, with his chin supported by the ground. In this way his gaze will not wander higher than it should, but with chin immovable he will confine his line of vision along a fixed level. One should dig in those places where vapors are seen to rise into the air⁴⁷.

It becomes necessary to dig wells when natural springs are not found. Care must be taken on account of the pit gasses which seep up through the earth and may suffocate the diggers before they can get out. To avoid such an accident, lighted lamps should be lowered. If they remain burning, it is safe for men to descend; if they do not remain burning, it is unsafe, and airshafts (*aestuaria*)⁴⁸ should be dug at the right and at the left of the main shaft to carry off the gas⁴⁹.

In constructing cisterns it is well to make two or more compartments in order that the water may be transferred from one to the other; in this way water will be sweeter and more healthful. This transfer can be effected after the mud has settled: the water will then become more limpid and preserve its taste without odors. If not, it will be necessary to add salt to clear the water⁵⁰.

In Pliny the Elder (Book 31) and in passages scattered throughout Latin literature we find stories and myths about the potency and the properties of the waters of certain springs. I mention here passages of Vitruvius in which the effect of springs on man is specifically noted.

The quality of water varies, he says, according to the places where it is found. In clay soil water will be found at no great depth; the supply will be poor, and the water will have a bad taste. Likewise, in fine gravel (*sabulo solutus*), it will be poor in quality, found at a deeper level, muddy, and not sweet. Water found in hard soils from drippings gathered during winter storms has the best taste. The water found in gravel (*glarea*) is of remarkable sweetness. So, also, water in coarse gravel (*sabulo masculus*), and in a kind

³⁸Pliny 36.46.

³⁹8.4.1-3.

⁴⁰7.12.1.

⁴¹This is all very interesting in view of the extent to which, in fact, the Romans made use of lead pipes to carry water. C. K. >.

⁴²8.6.10-11.

⁴³Silius Italicus 8.379.

⁴⁴Cicero, De Legibus 2.27; Livy 26.38; Pliny 3.16.

⁴⁵1.4.11-12.

⁴⁶Pliny 3.28.

⁴⁷1.4.1-2.

⁴⁸8.6.12-13.

⁴⁹8.1.1.

⁵⁰8.6.15.

of sandstone (*harena carbunculo*) is of good taste. In redstone (*rubrum saxum*) the supply of water is good and abundant. At the foot of the mountains and in lava the water is cooler and more healthful. In plains the springs are salty, warm, and not pleasant, except that in springs which flow underground and appear in shady places the water has the taste of mountain springs⁵⁰.

Mountainous districts facing the North are the best for wells, because the water there is sweeter, more healthful, and more abundant. Water found in the plains is not healthful, since there is no protection from the rays of the sun; the sun evaporates the best of the water and leaves the unwholesome parts. Rain-water, then, has more healthful properties, since it is filtered by the action of the air before it falls to the earth⁵¹.

Every warm spring has medicinal properties. The water of such a spring takes on new useful elements since it is thoroughly boiled with foreign matter. Sulphur springs relieve pain in the muscles by thoroughly warming them and by burning out faulty humors of the body. Aluminous springs, introducing a warmth through the open pores (*venae*), restore strength to those who have been weakened by paralysis or by other ravages of sickness. Bituminous springs usually remedy the faults of internal organs by purging, if the water is taken internally⁵².

There is a kind of cold water containing natron (*nitrosus*), to be found at Pinna Vestina, Cutiliae⁵³, and at other similar places, which, when taken, acts as a purge, and reduces scrofulous tumors. In many springs gold, silver, iron, bronze, lead, and similar minerals are mined; these are especially harmful. When the waters of such springs enter the body, they touch the sinews and the joints and cause them to swell and harden. The sinews, enlarged by swelling, are contracted in length and the sufferers are afflicted with nervous disorders and gout, as the texture of the veins becomes imbedded in hard, dense, and stiff matter⁵⁴.

Another kind of water contains (?) here there is a lacuna in the text), and is, therefore, not very clean. The material floats like a flower on the surface. In color it is like 'purple' glass. This is especially common at Athens. No one drinks this water, but it is used for bathing purposes. At Troezen, where it is practically the only water to be had, nearly everyone has diseases of the feet. At Tarsus in Cilicia there is a river by the name of Cydnos⁵⁵ of such properties that gouty persons find relief from their pains by soaking their limbs in it⁵⁶.

At Soli, a town in Cilicia, there is a river named Liparis in which swimmers or bathers are anointed by the water itself, because the water takes up oil from the earth through which it flows. A lake in Aethiopia has the same characteristics. The river Himera in Sicily divides into two branches. The water of the one, which flows northward, is unusually sweet, on account

of the sweetness of the soil. The other, which runs through salt mines, has a salty taste⁵⁷.

Some of the best tasting water comes from hot springs. An example is the water of the Marcian Aqueduct. On the other hand, some cold springs or rivers have an unpleasant odor and taste, e. g. the River Albula⁵⁸, on the road to Tivoli and Ardea.

In general, the sources of springs which face the North and the Northeast are best, unless they run into sulphur, alum, or asphalt; in that case, the water, whether hot or cold, has an unpleasant smell and taste⁵⁹.

Some springs are acid. There are such at Velinum, at Lyncestus, and at Teanum in Campania, and in many other places. These dissolve or break up stones in the bladder. This, however, seems to come about naturally because a sharp, acid juice present in the soil makes the water sharp; hence, when it enters the body, it scatters those deposits which are formed by concretions of other water⁶⁰.

The quality of some springs produces remarkable singing voices for those who are born near them. There are such springs at Tarsus and at Magnesia. About twenty miles from Zama⁶¹, where Juba had his royal residence, is the town of Ismuc. In connection with a tale about this town, Vitruvius recites a story about Gaius Caesar, son of Masinissa. When he was my guest, says Vitruvius, we chanced to talk about the potency and the qualities of water. He stated that there were springs in his country which gave fine singing voices to the natives. Hence they bought and imported wellformed boys and mature girls, that, through intermarriage of these boys and girls with natives, children might be born who should have not only fine voices but beautiful forms⁶².

In the Alps in the kingdom of Cottius there is water which causes a man to become prostrate⁶³.

Close to a Temple of Venus and Mercury at Halicarnassus was the spring of Salacis. Some have had an erroneous idea that those who drank of this spring were addicted to vicious sexual indulgences. Vitruvius says he will explain how this mistaken notion got abroad. A stream so clear, so excellent in flavor can not, he says, make men weak and effeminate. According to the story, Melas and Arevanias came from Argos and Troezen and founded a colony in common, at the same time driving out the barbarians, the Carians and the Leleges. The latter peoples became bandits and made raids on the Greeks. Afterward, one of the colonists, attracted by the goodness of the water, fitted out a well-equipped shop near this spring. One by one the barbarians came down to this shop; gradually they gave up their rough and wild customs, and adapted themselves to Greek manners. Therefore, the minds of the barbarians were softened by the charm of civilization⁶⁴.

Some springs are exceedingly bitter in flavor because there is bitter juice in the soil. An example is the River Hypanis, in Pontus. From its source for about forty miles it has a very sweet taste. Then, when it

⁵⁰8.1.2.⁵¹8.2.1.⁵²8.3.4.⁵³Celsus, De Medicina 4.5; Pliny 31.6.⁵⁴8.3.5.⁵⁵Pliny 31.11.⁵⁶8.3.5.⁵⁷8.3.7-8.⁵⁸8.3.1-2, 2.8.⁵⁹8.3.24-25.⁶⁰Statius, Silvae 1.3.75.⁶¹8.3.17-18.⁶²8.3.17.⁶³Pliny 31.12.⁶⁴2.8.12.

comes to a place about 160 miles from its mouth, a very small stream flows into it which makes the river of great size completely bitter. The bitterness is due to the water running through soil of which sandarach⁶⁶ is a part⁶⁷.

Water which causes death is known. It receives this property by running through land containing poisonous juices. This is true of the spring at Terracina which is called Neptune; if one unwittingly drinks from this spring, he loses his life. On account of this the ancients are said to have plugged it up. At Chrobs in Thrace there is a lake the waters of which prove fatal not only to those who drink but also to bathers⁶⁸.

At the place in Macedonia where Euripides is buried two streams meet, one flowing to the right, the other to the left of the tomb. Travelers are accustomed to stop for lunch near one of these because of the goodness of its water, but no one goes near the stream on the other side because, it is said, its water is deadly. In Arcadia there is a region known as Nonacris⁶⁹ where very cold water drips from a rock in the mountains. This they call Water of Styx. It is related that some of this water was secured by Antipater and carried by his son Iollas into the province where Alexander was at that time. It was a draught of this water that was fatal to Alexander⁷⁰.

The waters of some⁷¹ springs have an intoxicating effect. One of these is in Paphlagonia. The Aequiculi in Italy and a tribe of the Medulli in the Alps have a kind of water which causes swellings of the throat. In Arcadia, in the fields of a district known as Clitor is water such that he who drinks it becomes abstemious. At this spring is an epigram in Greek verse inscribed on a stone, to the effect that the water is unsuited for bathing purposes, and is injurious to vines because here Melampus cleansed the daughters of Proteus of madness by sacrificial rites and restored the minds of the maidens to former soundness.

Those who drink from a certain spring on the island of Cia become foolish (*insipientes*). At Susa, in Persia, is a little fountain. Vitruvius gives three elegiac distichs, reciting that the water is excellent for bathing, but that, if one drinks of this water, he looses his teeth, roots and all⁷².

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EARL LEV. CRUM

SUB MONTE PALATINO

In Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 375¹, may be found the following statement: "...The ancient tradition... is unanimous in placing on the Palatine the earliest nucleus of Rome..." Of the seven passages² cited in support of this statement all but one refer to the Rome of Rom-

ulus, which is certainly not the earliest Rome. Moreover, not one of these six passages asserts that the Rome of Romulus was *on* the Palatine. The seventh passage (Festus 266 Mueller) states that the *Aborigines* settled on the Palatine.

The belief that the beginnings of Rome were *on* the Palatine is a dogma only slightly supported either by literary or by archaeological evidence. Yet to this dogma translations of ancient Greek and Latin passages have long been made to conform. For example, in the Didot edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus we read (3.43) τοῦ καλουμένου Παλατίου περὶ ὃν ἡ πρώτη κατασκευασθεῖσα πόλις ἰδρύθη. This is rendered by "Palatino in quo primum urbs condita erat". In The Loeb Classical Library translation of Plutarch, *Romulus* 1, περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον is rendered by "on the Palatine".

My attention was first called to these matters by a statement in Valerius Maximus 2.2.9: quod iis avus Numitor, rex Albanorum, eo loco ubi educati erant urbem condere permiserat *sub monte Palatino*. Beside this may be placed Aeneid 9.244, obscuris...sub vallibus, 'nestling in the depths of shady vales', an expression which refers to the Rome of Evander. Evander's city is similarly placed by Dionysius 1.31 πρὸς αὐτῷ (i.e. πρὸς Παλατίῳ). In 1.85 Dionysius agrees with Festus (266) in placing the *Aborigines* *on* the Palatine Hill. In 2.1 his words, πρὸς ἐνὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ λόφων are rendered by the Didot editor, with the usual prejudice, by "in uno e septem montibus".

The famous augury of Romulus is, to be sure, associated with the summit of the Palatine. The momentum of this tradition is terrific, and it is winged with romance, but it is possible to write a history of Rome without it. Professor M. L. W. Laistner, in his book, *A Survey of Ancient History*³, has demonstrated this; neither Romulus nor Palatine appears in his Index. Mr. Hugh Last, in *The Cambridge Ancient History* 7, after a carefully reasoned discussion of Romulus, dismisses him as unhistorical (370). The summit of the Palatine ought, therefore, to drop out of the story of Latin Rome. Ancient tradition assigns the top of the hill to the so-called *Aborigines* alone; it pictures the Rome of Evander and the Rome of the Latins and the Sabines as situated chiefly in the valleys, although the adjacent sides and summits of hills other than the Palatine are involved.

That the Palatine plays a negligible rôle in stories of the regal period is well known. None of the kings is domiciled there. References found in Platner and Ashby (under *domus*) actually indicate that the royal residential quarter tended to shift from the Velia toward the Esquiline, where two kings were domiciled⁴. Similar references to private individuals of the early Republic, such as Valerius Publicola, Spurius Cassius, Caes Vibenna, Marcus Manlius, and Spurius Maelius, whether these traditions contain kernels of historical fact or not, invite us to think of ancient Rome without the Palatine. It was playing no part in the lore of recollected events.

¹Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1929.

²<The reader may consult with interest and profit a paper entitled *The City of the Early Kings*, by Professor Horace W. Wright, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 19.12-16 (October 12, 1925). C. K.>

⁶⁶Pliny 35.22; Festus, page 435 (Lindsay's edition).

⁶⁷8.3.11.

⁶⁸8.3.15.

⁶⁹Pausanias 8.18.4-6.

⁷⁰8.3.16.

⁷¹8.3.20-23.

¹*A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, by Samuel Ball Platner, Completed and Revised by Thomas Ashby (London, Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford: New York, Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. xxiii + 608).

²Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5.164; Festus 266 Mueller; Tacitus, *Annales* 12.24.7; Plutarch, *Romulus* 3; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.87; Livy 1.7; Gellius 13.14.

The Palatine is not mentioned from early Republican times until 330 B. C.; it is mentioned then in connection with the razing of the house of Vitruvius Vaccus. The vacant site was known as *Vacci Prata*. 'Bullock's Meadows', which may be just a Roman pun, or it may hint at magnitude. In either case it suggests that real estate on the Palatine was not held in high value; Vaccus was a Latin immigrant from Fundi⁵. Native Roman citizens pursuing the *cursus honorum* never resided far from the Forum. Clients were necessary to advancement and they objected to steep climbs and long morning walks. The houses of men like Catulus, Scaurus, Cicero, and others were staggered up the side of the Palatine above the region of the *Sacra Via*. Advantages of quick retreat in time of trouble were also considered, no doubt, and the margin of the opposite Esquiline enjoyed a like preference. It is probable, however, that most patricians lived in the *Vicus Patricius*, between the Quirinal and the Viminal. Julius Caesar lived in the *Subura*⁶.

The problem of the Palatine presents still other inconsistencies. Its summit was undoubtedly regarded with extraordinary veneration, but the list of shrines existing there is insignificant. Historians, again, are accustomed to dwell upon its advantages as a natural citadel. Yet there is not a single instance of its ever being attacked or defended; not once is it called an *arx* except by way of poetical compliment. Even in the pre-Latin tales of the logographers, by no means negligible in quantity, there is no mention of fighting over the Palatine. Archaeologists have sought diligently for traces of its fortifications; the stones to be found *in situ* are disappointingly few in number. The explanation may possibly be found, not in the fact that the hill was sufficiently fortified by nature, but in this, that in the millennium preceding the beginnings of Latin Rome local Italic life was peaceful. I have found no account of a Latin wall dating before the sixth century. Surely we are hardly justified in projecting a state of war into the whole preceding epoch. Village life, which preceded town life, presumes a degree of peace.

The extraordinary sanctity of the Palatium may possibly be explained as the survival of a pre-Latin veneration for sacred hills, *montes sacri*. That this religious idea occupied a firm place in the emotions of the plebeians is indicated by the legend of the secession to the *Mons Sacer* in 494 B. C., which is reasonably viewed as an instance of seeking sanctuary in a sacred place. A similar religious feeling is evidenced in the festival of the *Septimontium*, celebrated on seven sacred hills. It is pretty certain that this festival was plebeian in character. Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 6. 24, writes thus concerning the festival: *Feriae non populi sed montanorum modo, ut Paganalibus, qui sunt alicuius pagi.*

That residence in high places was viewed with suspicion is attested by various stories. Varro tells us that the Etruscans were transplanted from the *Caelian* to a level district because they held sites that were too strong from a military point of view⁷. Valerius Publicola was compelled by public opinion to move his house from the *Velia* to a lower situation⁸. After the death of Marcus Manlius patricians were forbidden to possess homes on the Capitol⁹. These facts suggest that the *montani* who celebrated the festival of the *Septimontium* were plebeians. This inference is strengthened by the fact that at this festival an obscure priest, the *flamen Palatualis*, officiated¹⁰. If the *Cermalus* and the *Palatium* of this festival concerned the patricians, why did not one of the more distinguished priests officiate at it?

Archaeological evidence affords reason for believing that the Esquiline played a great part in pre-Latin Rome, and its prominence is equally manifest in the stories of regal and early Republican Rome. Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Priscus are said to have resided there. Especially significant is the name of the margin of the Oppian spur of the Esquiline near the Forum, *Carinae*, 'Ships' Bottoms'. Pliny the Elder, *H. N.* 15.88, uses the same term of walnut shells. Professor W. S. Fox, of the University of Western Ontario, has furnished me with a reference to Diodorus Siculus 2.31.7, where the word *σκαφοειδής*, 'shaped like a ship's bottom', is used to describe the shape of the earth. This can refer only to the bowl-shaped coracle still used in many parts of the East. If we may assume the existence of some natural hemispherical knolls¹¹ of earth or rock on this part of the Esquiline, then we may explain the name *Carinae* and at the same time supply the reason for establishing in that particular place the Temple of Tellus. If this assumption meets with assent, then the veneration for sacred hills, *montes sacri*, is once more exemplified in Roman religious feeling.

Of similar significance is the procession of the *Argei*, during which twenty-seven *montes sacri* were visited. The sanctity of the localities is, of course, probably more ancient than the admission of the rite to the calendar. The very framing of a calendar involves the assumption of the preexistence of rites calling for official recognition or rejection. So the sanctity of the *Carinae* probably antedates by a long period the foundation of the Temple of Tellus, which fell late in 268 B. C. On this principle we may suggest that the prehistoric sanctity of the Palatium furnishes the reason for locating there the augural *templum* of Romulus. The

⁵De Lingua Latina 5.46.

⁶Livy 6.20.6.

⁷Livy 2.7.5.

⁸Festus 348 Müller.

⁹There is another explanation of *carinae* that appeals more strongly to me. Pliny the Elder 11.207 compares the *pectus hominis* to the breast of a bird, especially an aquatic bird. Nettle-ship, in Conington's edition of Vergil, 2.400, in a note on Aeneid 5. 682, quotes this passage, and discusses the meaning of *carinae*. He had discussed the matter in the (English) Journal of Philology 12. He is quite right in holding that *carinae* means, not the keel of a ship, but the lower part of the hull of a ship; compare, with him, Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 3.13.1 *carinae* <Venetorum> aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium....

As a designation of a place, then, *carinae* need not denote a knoll or hillock, that is something convex. To me it denotes rather something concave, bottom land with the sloping sides rising from that bottom land. A "bowl-shaped coracle" is naturally thought of as something concave. C. K. >

¹¹Livy 8.19.2.

¹²Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 46. <In this connection reference may be made to a paper entitled *Some Private Houses in Ancient Rome*, by Miss Euphemia M. Mann, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 19, 127-132 (March 1, 1926). In *The Classical Journal* 21, 566-579 (May, 1926), Miss Ruth Witherstone had a paper entitled *Where the Romans Lived*. C. K. >

legend is shrewdly invented: the hero is Latin and patrician; he takes his stand on a spot long hallowed in the imagination of pre-Latin Rome. The mystic union tends to reconcile the two elements of the population, whom we may roughly denote as patrician and plebeian, Latin and non-Latin, without denial of substantial overlapping.

That the religious instincts of the plebeians were inclined to be communal or congregational in their tendencies is manifest to all students of Roman religion. It was quite different with the patricians, who had their own *sacra*, whether of the family or of the *gens*. For this very reason they contributed less and less to the state religion; the *cultus privatus* tends to disappear. The Senate, which was patrician in principle, gave only grudging recognition to plebeian religious feelings, and that only in times of crisis. To such a crisis was due the importation of the image of the Magna Mater from Mt. Pessinus in 204 B. C. This falls in line with the series of religious ideas mentioned above. It must have been a question to the Romans where they should locate her terrestrial majesty. The Quirinal had its Sabine tradition, which might as well have been Latin and patrician. The Capitol had been preempted by a senatorial god, Jupiter (Jupiter never meant much to the plebeians: in proof of this statement we may cite the paucity of temples to Jupiter and of popular dedications to him). The Aventine had its Latin Diana. The Esquiline already had its Tellus. The Caelian had Etruscan and Alban associations.

Obviously the Palatine possessed superior claims. It was free of sacred edifices for the reason that no patrician gods had ever dared to intrude upon its sanctity. It was surrounded by shrines whose sacredness was thoroughly plebeian except in so far as the reconciling legend of Romulus had connected a would-be Latin founder with their deities. The Lupercal is almost certainly older, probably by centuries, than the legend of Romulus. It is even possible that the legend of the twins existed first as a creation-myth before it began to figure as a foundation-legend. Legends about twins, it may be pointed out, are not Greek, as historians often assert of this story. Such legends are Mediterranean.

However this may be, there is no doubt that the Magna Mater felt at home above the Lupercal. The lions of Cybele would have understood the wolf of the legend. The goddess would have sympathy with Acca Larentia, herself not without chthonic associations, reputed mother of the Lares. She was very plebeian; near her shrine the priests used to sacrifice to the Di Manes Serviles (Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 6. 23-24). Moreover, the façade of the temple of the Magna Mater overlooked the Circus Maximus, the Aventine, and the river district, all plebeian quarters. The building of her temple, if we are willing to face the facts, gave to the plebeians a religious citadel to match the patrician Capitol. The plebeian goddess of earth was at rivalry with Jupiter, the patrician god of heaven.

It is not customary to explain the Ara Maxima of Hercules or the Circus Maximus in connection with the Palatine. Yet such an attempt might bear fruit.

Juxtaposition is very important in Roman topography. It seems just as impossible to separate the games in the Circus from the worship of Hercules as to make a similar separation at Nemea or at Olympia. It is equally reasonable to connect the seven *ora* of the Circus with the Earth Mother; the earth was often said to be like a half-egg¹². Moreover the seven eggs then demand to be set beside the Septimontium, the seven sacred hills, each an image of the Earth Mother. If into the same association we bring the Carinae, Tellus, and the Mons Sacer of early Republican history, we have discovered again the unity of plebeian religion.

Some years ago it was suggested to me by Professor W. S. Fox that the word *Palatium* might be derived from Phoenician *ba'alat*, 'earth mother', who is called also *Melcarth* (compare Greek *Melicertes*, an epithet of Hercules). It is convenient to assume the change of *b* to *p* in a loan-word. Naevius, however, used the form *Balatium* and the long *a* is well attested. If there be truth in this suggestion of Professor Fox, then the Palatium is the sacred hill of the Earth Mother, and Hercules Invictus below is her male counterpart. This view presumes that the site of Rome had been a calling-point and an emporium of Greco-Phoenician adventurers. It fits in with the steady Roman tradition of a pre-Latin Rome occupied by immigrants from the Peloponnesus, who in turn had been preceded by the Aborigines. It agrees with the assumption that the Palatium was a sacred hilltop never to be invaded by Latin gods. It agrees with the fact that the Latins never settled on the Palatine until late Republican times. It agrees with the statements of Greek writers who place Latin Rome 'around the Palatine'.

We may now sum up. No ancient authority asserts that Latin Rome was *on* the Palatine; the hills had been occupied by the Aborigines, whoever they may have been. Hill tops were sacred. On them were numerous shrines, as recorded in the festivals. Latin Rome was in the valleys and on the sides of the hills adjacent to the Forum. The same situation was traditional for the Rome of Evander. The Palatium, the Ara Maxima, and the Circus are to be explained together, just as they are topographically connected. The story of Romulus and Remus was probably a creation-legend connected with the Lupercal and the Earth Mother before it was adapted as a foundation-legend; the intention of those who made it a foundation-legend was to reconcile the foundation of Latin Rome with pre-Latin Rome. It is inconsistent with history, since the Palatine was ground forbidden to patricians and to Latin gods until late Republican times. The fame of the Palatine is due to the false Romulus legend and to imperial palaces. The hill plays no part in military history at any time.

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¹²Compare Excerpta ad Arati Phaenomena (on page 37 of the edition by Maas): Σχήμα δὲ κόσμου οἱ μὲν κυρτοὶδές, οἱ δὲ σφαιροειδές, οἱ μὲν ὠκεὶς <εἶναι λέγουσι>, ἥτις δόξης ἔχονται οἱ τὰ Ὀρφέα μυστήρια τελούντες. I owe this reference to Dr. Pöx.

VERGIL, ECLOGUES 9.53-54

In Vergil, Eclogues 9. 53-54, we find these words:
*nunc oblita mihi tot carmina, vox quoque Moerim
iam fugit ipsa: lupi Moerim videre priores.*

With this we may compare Theocritus 14.22 οὐ φθέγγῃ;
 λόκον εἶδες; 'Will you not speak? Have you seen a
 wolf?' In Plato, Republic 1, 336 D, Socrates says of
 Thrasymachus, Καὶ μοι δοκῶ, εἰ μὴ πρότερος ἐωράκη αὐτὸν
 ἢ ἐκείνος ἐμὲ, ὁφθαλμοῖς ἂν γινώσκειναι, 'I fancy that, if I had
 not seen him before he saw me, I should have become
 voiceless'. Compare, also, Pliny, Historia Naturalis
 8.80 Sed in Italia quoque creditur luporum visus esse
 noxius vocemque homini quem priores contemplantur
 adimere ad praesens.

In Reginald in Russia, 138 (New York, The Viking
 Press, 1928), Saki (H. H. Monro), in the story en-
 titled Gabriel-Ernest, a modern version of the werewolf
 legend, refers to this superstition.

At dinner that night he was quite unusually silent.
 "Where's your tongue gone to?" said his aunt.
 "One would think you had seen a wolf."

Van Cheble, who was not familiar with the old say-
 ing, thought the remark rather foolish; if he had seen
 a wolf on his property his tongue would have been
 extraordinarily busy with the subject.

In his edition of Tibullus (New York, American
 Book Company, 1913), Kirby Flower Smith has a note
 (on 1.5.54) on wolf-lore. He says there, *inter alia*,
 "... In antique folk-belief no animal is as distinctly
 uncanny as the wolf. ..." There is a famous version
 of the werewolf legend in Petronius 61-62. For that
 legend see e. g. Kirby Flower Smith, An Historical
 Study of the Werewolf in Literature, Publications of
 the Modern Language Association of America, New
 Series, 2.1-42, and Anthony Rini, Popular Super-
 stitions in Petronius and Italian Superstitions of To-
 day, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22.83-86.

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REPEATED ADVERSATIVE CONJUNCTIONS

To the lists of examples of repeated adversative
 conjunctions cited by Professor Knapp and others (THE
 CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14. 153-154; 15.8, 32, 184; 18.8;
 19.42; 21.192) some additions may be made.

(1) Martial 5. 13. 1-3:

*Sum, fateor, semperque fui, Callistrate, pauper,
 sed non obscurus nec male notus eques,
 sed toto legor orbe frequens et dicitur 'Hic est'....*

(2) Algernon Charles Swinburne, Atalanta in Caly-
 don (pages 412, 431, and 432 in the edition of Swin-
 burne's works published by David McKay, Phila-
 delphia: undated):

but a cold and sacred life, but strange,
 But far from dances and the back-blowing torch,
 Far off from flowers or any bed of man
 Shall my life be forever....

Guiltless, yet red from alien guilt, yet foul
 With kinship of contaminated lives,
 Lo for their blood I die....

I would thou hadst let me live; but gods averse,
 But fortune, and the fiery feet of change,

And time, these would not, these tread out my life,
 Mine end with my beginning.

(3) Stephen Vincent Benét, John Brown's Body
 (New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Company, 1928),
 329:

The army was asleep as armies sleep.
 War lying on a casual sheaf of peace
 For a brief moment, and yet with armor on,
 And yet in the child's deep sleep, and yet so still.

A somewhat similar form of repetition, likewise for
 effect, is furnished by a passage in Catullus 64.116-123.
 Here the subordinate conjunction *ut* is repeated:

*Sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura
 commemorem, ut linquens genitoris filia vultum,
 ut consanguineae complexum, ut denique matris,
 quae misera in gnata deperdita laetabatur,
 omnibus his Thesei dulcem praeoptarit amorem,
 aut ut vecta rati spumosa ad litora Diae
 venerit aut ut eam devinctam lumina somno
 liquerit immemori discedens pectore coniunx?*

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REVIEW

Latin Thought During the Middle Ages. By Cesare
 Foligno. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press (1929).
 Pp. viii + 120. \$1.75.

In writing his book, Latin Thought During the
 Middle Ages, Professor Foligno seems to have followed
 Callimachus's dictum, 'A big book is a big evil'. In 120
 small pages, he has presented admirably the continuity
 of Latin culture and traditions from the fall of the
 Roman Empire to the revival of classical studies in
 Italy during the Renaissance. The fact that centuries
 of human thought are compressed within so narrow a
 space may make one suspicious that the book is limited
 to a dull and dry enumeration of facts. This, however,
 is not the case, because the author did not approach
 the subject in a hackneyed fashion. Each chapter is a
 stimulating essay in itself, full of new suggestions,
 which can be read with advantage not only by classi-
 cists and medievalists, but also by students of history
 and by all who are interested in the history of culture.

The contents of the book are as follows: Contents
 (v); List of Illustrations (vi-viii); I. Rome and the
 Middle Ages (1-9); II. The Salvage (10-27); III. The
 Christian Contribution (28-40); IV. Summaries (41-
 53); V. The Scottish Age (54-67); VI. Charlemagne
 (68-86); VII. The Schoolmen and After (87-113);
 Bibliographical Note (114-115); Index (117-120).

Although Rome was to all semblance destroyed, yet
 the imprint of Roman civilization, "... a miracle of
 adaptation, organization, and assertiveness almost
 irritating in its efficiency..." (5), could not be effaced.
 The destruction of Rome was a political destruction.
 Even the chaos that followed her downfall could not
 crush the solid basis of Roman civilization. Hence (8)
 "... when the first centuries of the Middle Ages were
 over it was found that everywhere and in all depart-
 ments of social life and culture Rome had survived. ..."
 Consequently in every cultured man of this epoch the
 Roman impress can be traced (9).

Though Rome was dead politically, her influence
 even grew (18). It is no wonder, then, that attempts
 were made to preserve the precious cultural legacy
 from Rome. Three forces especially worked in that
 direction: provincial activity, Christianity, and scholar-
 ly instinct (18). These forces are examined in Chapter
 II.

I wish to make a few points here. Speaking of the
 assimilation of Roman provincials, especially the
 Spaniards, Professor Foligno states (15) that most of

them "... carried the show of their loyalty <to Rome itself> to extremes..." He singles out Martial, who, in Foligno's opinion (16; compare also 23) "... is slightly speaking of Bilbilis, the town whence he hailed..." Martial speaks of Bilbilis in the following passages: 1.49.3-4 *altam... Bilbilin, equis et armis nobilem*; 1.61.12 *nec me tacebit Bilbilis*; 4.55.8-11 *nos Celtis genitos et ex Hiberis nostrae nomina duriora terrae grato non pudeat referre versu: saevo Bilbilin optimam metallo*; 10.103.1 *Augusta... Bilbilis*; 10.104.6 *altam Bilbilin* (this is a request that Flavius shall procure for him a pleasant *secessus*); 12.18.9 (*auro Bilbilis et superba ferro*). Martial always speaks of Bilbilis with great affection and pride (compare especially 4.55.8-11). Rightly did the late Professor K. F. Smith say: "... He <Martial> was as proud of his Celtiberian strain as any Virginian could be of the blood of Pocahontas. He even loved to dwell upon the old barbarian place-names of his native land... the lonely monuments of an elder race rising here and there in the midst of a newer civilization".

On page 23 Claudius Claudianus is included in the list of African authors. The fact that the laureate poet of the court at Milan was born in Africa does not justify this classification, for, if birth alone is to be considered the basis of literary classification, we may count Terence too an 'African' author².

Stilicho, the Vandal *magister equitum*, and also the regent for Honorius, a post to which he was appointed by the Emperor Theodosius, fought not against the Huns (10), but against Alaric. He was a Vandal, not a Goth (29).

The Church, too, played an important rôle in the transmission of ancient culture. After the decline of Greek in the West, Latin became the official language of the Church. The leading men of the Church were steeped in the spirit of the great literary works of antiquity, which were still the main substance of education. While there was a difference of opinion whether one could be at the same time a good Christian and a good classicist, the difficulty of "divided allegiance" (35) was in practice not serious. Latin had to be used as a means even if it were not used as an end in itself. Thus the continuation of the classical tradition could be opposed, but its advantages could not be denied (36), as we may see in the case of Jerome. Liberal studies, then, were a preliminary to a Christian education, but they could be dispensed with after education had been acquired (Chapter III).

For the preservation of both learning and tradition it was necessary to rely on men who understood the changed conditions which had developed. The new atmosphere furthered the practice current in later Roman times, of reducing learning into set schemes (46-47) with the purpose of giving a minimum of ancient learning in a simplified form that would be useful to all in the newly formed Western society. Repre-

sentative of this new simplified culture is Martianus Capella, whose book, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, gave a useful though dull compendium of the seven liberal arts. More important was the attempt of Boethius, who summarized, refashioned, and transmitted the philosophical and scientific treasures of the past (51) "... to an age which was, or seemed to him to be, in danger of becoming estranged from ancient wisdom..." But, while Boethius was chiefly concerned with the past, Cassiodorus became (52) "an instrument of fate" by looking into the future, for it was through his efforts that classical manuscripts were collected and copied. Such labors were an important factor in the preservation of classical literature (Chapter IV).

Irish scholars, called by Professor Foligno "Scottish", who knew Greek and with their Anglo-Saxon colleagues kept quite closely to classical models (62), were also a driving force in spreading both Christianity and classical learning throughout Europe (Chapter V). At home the Anglo-Saxons produced the Venerable Bede (65), but abroad they inspired the Carolingian Renaissance (Chapter VI), a period to which classicists are indebted because (85) "... all the works that could be traced had been transcribed, and practically all that we know of the writers of Rome goes back solely or mainly to Carolingian copies..." On page 78 Professor Foligno declares that "... few losses of ancient works occurred after the eighth century..." See also 87.

The last chapter deals with the centuries that followed the Carolingian Renaissance. Since it was realized that ancient thought was incompatible with Christian teaching, the attempt was made (89) to "reconquer classical thought" by Christianizing what was left of ancient philosophy (90); this Christianization reached its highest expression in the works of Albert of Cologne and Thomas of Aquinas. The Roman heritage, however, lived on and received a new lease of life through the advent of the Renaissance in Italy.

Professor Foligno has produced a very useful book and has shown that he is a scholar who understands the spirit of the Middle Ages. His book, however, shows traces of haste in composition and in editing. Many examples of inconsistencies in spelling could be quoted; the Index, too, is in need of revision. These faults can be corrected in a new printing, which, I believe, the book deserves. The bibliography also could be enriched by the inclusion of Dr. Erna Patzelt's book, *Die Karolingische Renaissance* (Österreichischer Schulbuchverlag, Vienna, 1924). For the English reader should be added F. J. E. Raby's *Work, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginning to the Close of The Middle Ages* (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 23.54-56), Professor Edward K. Rand's book, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1928; see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22.167-168), and T. R. Glover's *Work, Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge. At the University Press, 1904)³.

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¹Martial the Epigrammatist and Other Essays, (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920).

²As a matter of fact Claudian is the last of the Roman classical poets. He is treated as such by M. Schanz in a chapter entitled *Die Nationale Literatur*. See his *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur* 4th ed., 29 (Munich, Beck, 1920). The fact that Claudian studied in Alexandria does not mean that he was born there; see *ibidem*, 3. Some even maintain that Claudius Claudianus was of Asiatic origin.

³I fail to see why Professor Foligno quotes only a French edition of Rutilius Namatianus (115); why is no mention made of the English edition of this author, by C. H. Keene (with a translation by G. F. Savage-Armstrong [London, G. Bell, 1907])?